1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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B. The North and Political Reaction

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• 648 Although the West, particularly England, had been pressing the Ch'ing Dynasty from the late eighteenth century for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations on a basis of equality and fought a war with China in 1840-42 in an attempt to institute such relations, Western military force did not penetrate the North China Region until 1858. Anglo-French armies, accompanied by American and Russian diplomatic representatives, occupied Tientsin in that year as part of a renewed effort to obtain the old objectives. When Peking continued to procrastinate, the French and English forces thrust into Peking in 1860. The Manchu court having fled north to south-western Manchuria, the armies of both nations sacked the Summer Palace in retaliation for mistreatment of some captured Western soldiers. The Ch'ing Dynasty was not only forced to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the West, but had to do so with China as an inferior partner.

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178 The real power of the Manchu throne from 1856 to 1908 was concentrated in the hands of the Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi (or the "Old Buddha," as she was commonly called). A strong-willed and capable woman, she was largely ignorant and unmindful of China's

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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and anti-foreign attitude. In addition, they were discouraged from close contact with Westerners and saw little of Western military and economic power. Such contacts in the East China and Central-South regions often deterred officials from showing open and futile hostility toward the West, even when encouraged or ordered to do so by the throne.

The focus of anti-foreignism throughout China was the Christian missionary. His faith and practices were subversive of Chinese beliefs, customs, and cohesion as well as misunderstood and misinterpreted by the uninitiated. As an overt symbol of foreign inroads into China supported by military might, the missionary was an object of hatred for the scholar-official group.

A decade of violence against Christian missionaries throughout China reached a climax in what is known to the West as the Tientsin Massacre of 1870. Directed primarily against French diplomats and Catholic missionaries, the outbreak arose from Chinese suspicion and resentment toward the foreigner and from French inattention to the feelings of the Chinese people. Unmindful of the respect which the Chinese had for their own religion and emperor, the French at Tientsin established a consulate in an imperial palace and constructed a church on the site of an

177 imperial temple. At the same time, the
797 eagerness with which the newly founded Sisters
648 of Mercy orphanage and hospital sought sick and even dying children for care encouraged the Chinese in the belief that the youngsters were wanted dead or alive for the practice of weird and horrible rites.

When the high death rate at the hospital was climaxed by the death of over thirty children in a mid-1870 epidemic, Chinese popular suspicion turned into active hostility. While local officials encouraged public demonstrations and demands for revenge, the imperial commissioner in charge of international affairs in Tientsin did all he could to quiet mass outbursts and disprove the baseless charges of the demonstrators. He apparently had the affair in hand when the rash and provocative actions of the French consul precipitated his own death at the hands of a crowd, the plunder and destruction of the cathederal and orphanage, and the killing of their custodians. In all, twenty foreigners and more than thirty Chinese workers at the cathederal and orphanage met their death.

648 The incident brought France and China close to war. Conflict was averted by French preoccupation with Prussia in Europe. Finally, the French accepted as sufficient

redress for the incident the Chinese government's execution of sixteen Chinese and the banishment of over thirty others, including two local officials who had been lax in maintaining peace and order.

D. The Boxer Rebellion

A more violent and bloody manifestation of anti-foreignism occurred in 1900 after Germany, England, Russia, and France had wrung from the dynasty leases of territory and privileges of exploitation on Chinese soil. This display of imperial weakness in 1898, preceded a few months earlier by Tz'u Hsi's deposition of the emperor and the crushing of the reform movement, aroused as much sentiment against the Manchus as against the West. In the North, however, the dynasty was able to turn the expression of resentment almost wholly against the foreigners, particularly Christians and Chinese converts

Anti-foreign hatred and violence initially reached greatest intensity in Shantung and coalesced in the I Ho T'uan (Righteous Harmony Corps), also called the I Ho Ch'üan (The Fists of Righteous Harmony). Known to the West as the Boxers, the membership of the movement not only had gentry leadership, but also were encouraged by the Manchu governor of Shantung, Yü-hsien. His dismissal

177 under foreign pressure at the end of 1899 led
577 to the rapid decline of I Ho T'uan activities in Shantung but the sect immediately shifted its scene of operations to Hopei. By spring of 1900, the Boxers had killed scores of foreign and native Christians in the province and were receiving open support from the imperial family. When an order for the expulsion of the foreigner was issued from the capital on June 20, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign communities in Peking and Tientsin.

The sect made its appearance about the same time in Shansi, where Yü-hsien had become governor after being relieved from his post at Shantung. He personally assisted in the execution of a Catholic bishop and generally encouraged violence against foreigners and Christian converts. Outside of Shansi and Hopei, the I Ho T'uan was active on a large scale only in Manchuria and Mongolia. In all, more than two hundred Westerners, mostly missionaries, and several thousand Chinese converts were killed in the anti-foreign movement. Provincial governors elsewhere in China ignored the orders from Peking and generally maintained order among the people.

177 The movement fell apart almost
577 immediately after a coalition of Western and
708 Japanese forces relieved the siege at Peking
● 648 on August 16, 1900. As in 1860, the court

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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fled the capital before its fall, and the Western soldiers plundered and looted the city far more devastatingly than they had forty years earlier. Tientsin had suffered a like visitation a month earlier. The further cost to China of the Boxer Rebellion included the payment of an indemnity to the offended nations -- the United States' share being later converted into a scholarship fund for Chinese students to study in America -- and the stationing of foreign troops in Peking with the right to police the area from the capital to the sea. Foreign garrisons continued to exercise these rights until forced out of the capital by the Chinese Communists.

E. Government by Military Force

The example of Japan's defeat of Russia following on China's humiliation as a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion swelled reform sentiment throughout the nation. By 1911, a national assembly was sitting in Peking. Although constituted by the throne to assure the conservative nature of the advisory body, it was proving more progressive minded than the dynasty and more demanding than advisory. Before the real intentions of the dynasty were put to the test, revolution broke out along the Yangtze River ~~and~~ immediately spread to the South. Very little sympathetic response came

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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642 central government. Real power in Shansi,
701 however, remained in the hands of Yen Hsi-shan,
631 and he was eliminated from the province only after World War II by the Communist armies.

G. North China and Japan

167 Toward the end of the second decade
631 of the twentieth century, a significant change
648 occurred in the frontier region north and northeast of Shansi and Hopei. The opening of modern rail and road systems stimulated mass migrations from the North China Region (and Shantung) into Inner Mongolia and, on a far larger scale, into Manchuria. As soon as the Nationalist Government was established in October 1928, it created the provinces of Suiyuan, Chahar, and Jehol out of Inner Mongolia and made them part of the Chinese administrative system. Soon afterward, the Nanking regime made strenuous efforts to establish economic dominance in the new provinces and Manchuria.[21]

648 These moves threatened Japan's whole position in East Asia. Japan had been

21. See Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 13-18, H.B. Morse and H.F. MacNair, Far Eastern International Relations, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp. 727, 758-60; and George H. Blakesless and Harold S. Quigley, The Far East, An International Survey, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1938, pp. 8-122.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 established in southern Manchuria since 1905. and had looked on Inner Mongolia as a Japanese sphere of influence since 1915. When the Chinese Government began contending for supremacy in these areas, the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria took counter-measures to protect Japan's primary source of raw materials.

Chang Tso-lin had been a subservient tool of the Japanese, but his son, Chang Hsüeh-liang, defied Japan and worked with the Nanking regime. Japan forced him out of Manchuria and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. Japanese armies added Jehol to their Manchurian kingdom the following year. Attempts were also made to extend control over Chahar and Suiyuan by force and by exploiting Mongolian resentment at Chinese immigration and political control.

648 121 As none of these moves had encountered firm Chinese resistance, the Japanese military regime in Manchuria invaded Hopei in 1933. Fighting was halted by the Tanku truce of May 25, 1933, by which China agreed to de-militarize the area of Hopei north of a line running roughly just above Peiping and Tientsin. Two years later, the Nationalist Government agreed to withdraw its influence and political organizations from the area. At the same time, Japan forced

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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648 Nanking to permit the establishment of the East
721 Hopei Autonomous Council and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council. Although the personnel of these governments was named by Nanking, their creation undermined the Nationalist Government's sovereignty and control while increasing Japan's military, political, and economic dominance of North China. This was the situation in July 1937 when Japanese troops in the Peiping-Tientsin area clashed with Chinese troops in Lu-kou-ch'iao outside Peiping and precipitated the war of resistance against Japan.[22]

Although China had considerable armed strength in the North when Japan launched a full-scale attack, no determined resistance took place in Hopei and Shansi as developed around Shanghai in the early months of the war.
648 By the end of 1937, the main campaign in the
642 two provinces and Inner Mongolia was completed.[23]
727 The Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established as a puppet regime at Peking in December 1937 with jurisdiction over

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22. T.A. Bisson, Japan in China, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 1-153, 290-316.

23. Ibid.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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Suiyuan, Chahar, Hopei, Shansi, and Shantung. When the Reformed Government was established at Nanking in March 1940 under Japanese tutelage, as the political authority for all China, the Provisional Government was sublimated into the North China Political Council to maintain semi-autonomy in the North China Region. In actuality, neither political unit had any real power, attracted no important Chinese leaders to their standards -- other than Wang Ching-wei, head of the Nanking puppet regime -- and derived no real support or recognition from the Chinese people.[24]

Japan, content with dominance in the large cities and along communication lines, did not attempt to control all of Shansi and Hopei. In the areas under their command, the Japanese promoted a revised form of Confucianism that had been worked out in Manchukuo and was calculated to both make the conquered people more subservient and given them a sense of continuity with the past. A New People's Association (Hsin-min-hui) was also set up with the intention of regimenting the populace and

24. George E. Taylor, The Struggle for North China, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. 20-26, 31-32, 64-65, 151-56, 176, and passim; and Paul M. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-shek [sic]: A Political Study, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 183-210.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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leading them into new activities beneficial to Japanese control and economic exploitation. Whatever chance Japan had for gaining the sympathy of the people of North China was precluded by the occupying army's indiscriminate looting and destruction of property and inhuman treatment of the conquered people.[25]

H. The Role of the Universities

Alghouth Shansi and Hopei remained the stronghold of political reaction up to the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the voice of New China occasionally burst forth from the North to electrify the whole nation. After the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912, a need arose to define the goals and values of the new society. In order to do so, a number of intellectuals began re-examination of China's past and of existing Western ideologies. The dissemination of the new goals and values thus formed began about 1915 and resulted in what is known as the New Culture Movement. Although the movement was nationwide, its

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25. See references preceding footnote; Bisson, op. cit., pp. 293, 301; and Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, New York, William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946, pp. 63-66.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

657 On November 9, 1943, China became a
648 member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA), as a department of the Nationalist Government on the ministerial level, was established in January 1945, as was the China Office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of the relief and rehabilitation of postwar China.[4] Despite the great contribution to Chinese welfare resulting from the efforts of peaceful projects of this sort, the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was suspended when the Chinese Communists became the victors on the mainland of China, although such efforts, had they continued, might well have been used by the Communists for purposes of their own.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locust and insect invasions, frost, windstorms, and hail-storms have caused famines in the rural districts and

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4. China Handbook 1937-1945, pp. 538-41

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"In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave... 'Your waling', said he, 'is altogether like that of one who had suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed by a tiger. My husband was also killed...and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave...[this] place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government.' The Master then said [to his disciples], 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'"[40]

Have man-made disasters in Communist China become fiercer than nature's floods and droughts? This may well be the reason so many prisoners of war in Korea did not choose to return to the China Mainland.

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On April 4, 1950, in Taipei, the capital of Formosa, an organization called the Free China Relief Association was formed. Its purpose is to aid Chinese refugees from the Mainland and some of the people still suffering under Communist rule. In the past five years, the asso-

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40. James Legge, tr., The Liki (The Book of Rites), Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1885, Vol. 27, in The Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller, pp. 190-91.

ciation has aided more than 967,000 refugees and helped 51,846 people to escape to Formosa. During the flood of 1954, this organization sent thirty-five airplanes to the Mainland and dropped about 100,000 pounds of rice to those suffering from famine. The Free China Relief Association was also responsible for some 14,500 Chinese prisoners of war from Korea, who chose Free China rather than return to the Communist fold. This group arrived in Formosa in January 1954. The FCRA has established connections with the United Nations and the United States and had extended aid to Chinese refugees in many places, including Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea.[41]

At the United Nations Security Council meeting on November 28, 1950, the American delegate, Warren Austin, spoke of the relief supplies sent to China from the United States, of American efforts to feed and to clothe thousands upon thousands of Chinese people in the postwar years, and of the friendship expressed by the American people for China. Friendship between America and China has a long history, and as a result the Peking regime and the Communists do all in their power to slander the United States.

During a period of two years (1945-47), China received several hundred million dollars worth of relief supplies and relief funds from

41. Chiu-chi T'e-k'an [Special Bulletin on Relief], published by Free China Relief Association, Taipei, Sept. 1, 1955.

648 America through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Althcugh these programs were interrupted by the civil strife between the Nationalists and the Communists and was brought to an abrupt end by the Communist domination of the Mainland, many people were benefited. After the outbreak of warfare in Korea, the Chinese Communist Government assumed control of all American-subsidized educational, relief, and religious organizations. According to the Communist report, American assets in these three categories amounted to US$ 41,900,000. Of this sum, 47 per cent was for relief and welfare work, and was used to operate 200 orphanages, 20 leper asylums, 10 schools for the mute and deaf, and 30 schools for the blind.[42] It is apparent that without American aid much welfare work will be suspended. It is unlikely that those who have received the benefits of these subsidized institutions will readily forget such gestures of American friendship.

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42. Enlightenment Daily, Dec. 30, 1950, p. 1.

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668 The nationwide movement for suppression of counterrevolutionaries in 1951 further intensified the Communists' campaign against spies. However, at the end of the campaign, the Communists admitted that only a minimum number of the cases prosecuted during the counterrevolutionary drive directly involved espionage. Most of the persons condemned were found guilty of being bandits of "despots."[20]

With the increase in counterrevolutionary activities on the China Mainland, espionage once again became one of the targets for suppression. Any "destructive act" resulting in the loss of state property and personnel was deemed an act of espionage. In 1954, according to Lo Jui-ch'ing,[21] 619 espionage cases were prosecuted in the nation as a whole. Cases involving the murder of Communist Party members and the transmittal of information to the Nationalist forces on Formosa were widely reported. The manager of the Wu-ta Trading Company at Tientsin was charged with espionage for allegedly supplying military and industrial information to Nationalist agents in Hong Kong.

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648 4. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." The suppression of foreign "intelligence agents"

20. Report of Lo Jui-ch'ing, People's Daily, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

21. Text of Lo's speech, ibid., July 29, 1955, p. 3.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

BOYCOTTS

* 441 * 467 468 • 648 A powerful means of bringing the offender to terms is the boycott. Many instances are cited by writers on the guilds of the complete economic isolation and social ostracism of guildsmen who refuse to conform to guild decisions. Such treatment usually brings them to terms quickly.

The same weapon has been used against foreign shipping concerns by Chinese guildsmen in Canton, Shanghai and other ports. Failure to comply with guild rules or offense against what guildsmen consider the principles of justice on the part of a foreign shipping concern may result in inability to secure any workers to load or unload the ships. The boycott has been used on a larger scale not only by individual guilds but by the combined merchant and student class of China in dealing with international injustices. The most striking recent instance is the boycotting of British trade in Canton, which was a protest against the shooting of students in Shanghai by the municipal police on May 30, 1925. The tremendous strength, determination and unity of spirit exhibited in these boycotts has in recent years become a factor of first importance in the settlement of international questions in the Far East.

E. Source of the Guilds' Power

* 441 * 467 125 The cohesive strength of a Chinese guild when in action, whether in standing together against the encroachment of the officials or in demanding higher pay for the services of its members, is one of the outstanding characteristics of these groups. Is it possible to discover the source of this unquestioned solidarity?

The guildsmen's own testimony as to what they considered the factors that held the guild together and made it possible for united action is recorded in Table XVIII. Two questions were asked — the first was a direct inquiry as to the source